301 sapphires to wear in the house or on informal occasions. No wonder a man groans when his wife bears him four daughters to be provided with jewellery.

135 Although Burma possesses no diamond mines, it has undoubtedly
301 been a gem country from early times. The regalia of the Burmese
511 court displayed at the South Kensington Museum in London, encrusted and coruscant with rubies set one against the other, row upon row, must be seen to get an idea of how rich in gems was the small kingdom of Burma. Its rubies, sapphires and jade are unrivalled in the world. Jade has been worked since the 13th century, but unlike the transparent gem stones, it has not been highly prized by the Burmese people who call it, merely, *kyauksein*, green-rock. Almost all is sent to China, in valuable quantity and quality, from the tract round the Kachin Hills in Northern Burma, near the town of Mogaung, where, as "the magic powers of heaven and earth are ever combined to form perfect results; so the pure essences of hill and water became solidified into precious jade."

If jade is green-rock, the ruby is red-rock, but it is also *badamya*, gem, jewel, possession of highest worth. The ruby mines at Mogok have given the world the Burma ruby, famous amongst these rare precious stones which vary from deep crimson or purple to pale rose. Here also are found precious sapphires; the two lying in crystalline beds flashed with mica and embedded also with garnets and spinels of all colours, which the poorer people can use for their let-wut let-sa, set in silver, if they cannot buy gold, from the silver mines at Bawdwin about 50 miles away. An ordinary family like ours, with children for whom an expensive modern education is provided, possesses only the "utility" pieces for each member of the family, *i.e.*, the buttons, chains, bangles, rings and ear studs; and a hairpin and comb for the eldest, but this is considered as being poor in let-wut let-sa for a family of our standing. It can be imagined then what good housewives Burmese women have to be. A relative of mine who began petty trading as a young girl, was wearing in her middle age diamond rings, one of which held a single stone with the base a little over half an inch in diameter. But this can be done with less self-denial than it sounds, because all Burmese people have the same foods and ways of enjoyment, and a man does not develop more expensive habits or likings when he grows richer.

• 602 The financial help given to relatives is a part of our family system. It is difficult for nations whose sons go out to work in foreign lands and whose boarding houses contain old fathers and mothers waited on by paid labour, to realize the strong family unity that still exists among nations like the Burmese. Even the naming of relationships knits them together: cousins become "brother-one-womb-removed"; my father's

first cousin is my uncle, and his children and we are sisters-two-wombs-removed. The adoption of connections by marriage as one's own is so universally practised that we children on growing up of ten meet elders who tell us they are relations, and trace the exact status for us through half-a-dozen marriages and wombs-removed. Under these circumstances financial help has to cover a great range. 602

But whereas help to distant relatives may be given out of a sense of a burdensome duty, help to immediate father, mother, brothers and sisters is not regarded as the doing of a favour for which there will be a debt of gratitude. It is expected as the natural order of things. My father saw my two youngest uncles through their high schooling and University, and they, when they were settled, asked to be allowed to see me through my University career although my father did not need help. My Uncle San Lin did so for two years. Now that I am grown up it is my turn to help my younger sisters, and any inheritance which is left will not be touched or the shares assessed until the youngest child has received the same education as the eldest. Our first scholarship money was offered, in the case of every child, to my grandmother as an obeisance and as the highest gift we could offer—earned by learning and dedicated to the eldest person in our lives. When I got my first job and was able to establish my mother in a comfortable suite of rooms, her main emotion was not pleasure at the nice rooms, but a deep joy in saying: "How blessed is my daughter, that she can give material blessings to her mother in her old age, through her own good fortune and merit."

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. 593

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 593 868 [565]

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a conflict between age and sex as status factors in the social structure. There is an implicit conflict between the husband's position as a man and his wife's elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters. 607 182 602

Husband and Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor to his wife's younger sisters and to display more interest in them than in his own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money when he can, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together in the same house. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual joking and teasing, the relationship does not normally assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is permissable but very rarely practiced; when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free and easy relationship between a husband and his wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to village gossip -- especially when it is known that he and his wife are not getting along well -- that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law. 607 587

In-Laws. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate to her mother-in-law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (ကမ်းမ) means 'sweat women. 606

The term for son-in-law (ဗေးမက်?) means 'desired son.' A son-in-law is a privileged member of his wife's family. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law instructs her younger children to show him respect and deference.

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemeteries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going around the University dormitories telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hay, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimination. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at dacoits (thieves) or other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the beggars may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages.

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

461 The key to high positions lies in education in
555 the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for
873 this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed
●602 for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate
[538] the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.
555
777 In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities:
152 KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness
602 The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily,
however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two
credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit
compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient
excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual
and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social
condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried
and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt
it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The
individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to
maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he
[583] does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an
advantageous marriage within or above his occupational group.
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554 What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not
461 subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the
villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are
also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and
essentially homogeneous throughout the village.
554
301 The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits
461 to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to
adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected
in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies.
Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most
important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry.
The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod
the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's cloth-
ing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they
461 can afford.
554 The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age
454 security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when
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to belong to the same village then she is taken elsewhere. When they arrive, the whole group sits down to chat about the day's proceedings and various other matters. 583

If the parents do not agree to the match and keep their daughter under strict surveillance, the day may have to be postponed several times before the alocement is successful.

KINSHIP SYSTEM 6020

U Myaing was asked to give the names and relationships of as many members of his consanguinal family as possible. In the course of several interviews he remembered no less than 201 individuals plus 64 spouses. Only 26 names of the consanguinal relatives and 8 of the affinal spouses (both 12% of the respective totals) were forgotten. These figures are one indication of the importance of family relations. Of the blood relatives 75 of 21 families were on U Myaing's father's side and 126 of 40 families on his mother's side. Greater emphasis on the mother's side is also seen in the fact that the families of all siblings of mother's father were remembered while father's father's siblings families were disregarded. This is undoubtedly due in part to Daw Aw Zar, his mother, being the surviving parent living with his but is also probably part of a larger pattern.

Relationship terms are used in addressing the members of the immediate family, with exceptions for certain situations and individuals (for differentiating individuals; persons in junior relationships) where the proper name or nickname is used, the more remote relations are ordinarily addressed by name. 601

No differentiation is made in the kinship terms used between mother's and father's side of the family - a circumlocution being needed to indicate this. Male vs. female terms are common for all generations. From the 2nd ascending generation (grandparents) and beyond there is only one term for all males and one for all females for each generation (APO - grandfather; APWAH - grandmother). The same is true for the uncles (U LAY) and aunts (A DAW) although if the individual is older than the connecting parent a special age term is applied (DAW-GYI older aunt, U GYI - older uncle or "big sir.") A DAW is also used as a respect term toward any older woman. Younger

426 593 or her daughters or sons who are financially well-to-do. U Myaing's sister who lives in Rangoon has given help to the eldest daughter by housing her near her cheroot-rolling job. The pattern of mutual aid among the relatives is strongly developed among the Burmese. "A tree will support a thousand birds" emphasises the importance of the relative who makes good for the rest of the family.

Relationship of Family to Community and State

602 621 A large portion of the Pathwe community were related to U Myaing. Consequently many reciprocal activities fall within the family group. Most of the activities were prescribed by virtue of being a member of the community rather than by kinship ties. Such activities include cooperation in house raisings, funerals, marriage festivals, SHIN PYU ceremonies where the family involved needs help. Unpleasant occasions such as funerals demand everyone's attendance if not financial participation. 602 621 476 [342] On pleasant occasions the participants are apt to be one's friends and relatives. When someone builds a small house or puts a new thatch roof on, the other villagers come to help. He does not have to pay the workers anything or even feed them. He has only to cook and prepare for them the raw foods and chillies, onions, etc., which each one brings for himself. This statement, however, holds true only when small houses are built. Regular carpenters have to be hired to build the big ones. U Myaing frequently helped to build other people's houses - small houses that could be completed in a day. Help of this nature is offered without asking.

764 621 476 When a person dies in the village, the villagers all go to the house and certain elders help to bathe and dress the corpse and place it on the bed, where it may be kept anywhere from three to seven days before being taken out and buried. The ground for burial is bought at the ceremony for the price of one pice. Now, in keeping with the general inflation, the price has risen to one anna. The grave is dug by the young men's group. The young men of the village carry the bier, or pull the bullock cart on which the coffin rests, and dig the grave. They also provide the orchestra. For performances on the night of the death and the day after a Burmese orchestra is engaged at the rate of Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. The various visitors who come to condole with

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold as in Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
•602 has only sufficient for itself. We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods.

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

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as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathee in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathee, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-BLE-GYI, MATHAPYU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come.

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In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathee even the worker who worked at the IWS for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathee were very much lower than those in Rangoon. WAIFI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the WAIFI workers is paid Rs. 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IW workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food.

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U Myaing has made some friends among his fellow workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of one of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

38. yauccá Husband (referential).
39. mù Husband's younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband. 601
40. khê'óu Elder sister's husband; husband's elder brother; husband's elder sister's husband.
41. yaummà Husband's sister; husband's brother's wife.

As may readily be seen by inspection of the charts, this kinship system reflects clearly the bilateral family structure, with an absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition of relative age at many points. For each generation a distinct set of terms is used. On ego's generation all cousins are merged with siblings; the terms are differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, it will be noted, parents' siblings are terminologically distinguished according to degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation, however, the factor of age loses significance; sex is the sole differentiating factor, apart from distinguishing terms for ego's own children. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a single generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Behaviorally as well as terminologically, relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of Burmese social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying things for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons. 561 602 [516]

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of the Buddhist "Lent"—a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October—the New Year, and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received. [782]

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

Husband–Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her 593 [592] [594]

[Text continues on page 442]

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 60[illegible] 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

ALI Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./